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STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

HUNGARY: FROM WARSAW PACT TO NATO

BY

COLONEL TIBOR BENKO International Fellow - Hungary

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ABSTRACT

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This paper examines how the Hungarian Armed Forces have changed from the Cold War Warsaw Pact focus to the democratic focus of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The first part of the paper will provide a historical perspective of Hungary in the Warsaw Pact and describe the events from the point of view of socialist countries. The next part will focus on the integration of Hungary into NATO from both a political and military perspective. Particular attention will be given to the roles Hungary have played in the many international exercises, peacekeeping missions, and the Partnership for Peace Program. The paper will then examine the differences between Hungary in the Warsaw Pact and NATO to see how the Hungarian military has been transformed. Finally, the paper will conclude with a description of the civil-military relationship along with the security and defense policies that exist today.

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HUNGARY: FROM WARSAW PACT TO NATO

The expansion of NATO is nothing new. NATO has enlarged itself several times in the past, most recently absorbing the G.D.R. (through the backdoor of the G.D.R.'s incorporation into one Germany). But the currently envisioned expansion is different from previous ones: this enlargement is primarily politically motivated and it is about the future shape of Europe.

— Thomas S. Szayna
(National Security Analyst at RAND)

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 ended initially on October 30 with a perceived victory by the Hungarian people and government. The old Communist system crumbled and was gone. The Soviet troops withdrew from Budapest and started to leave the country. The multi-party democracy was restored, and Prime Minister Imre Nagy formed a coalition government based on the parties of 1945-47 Parliament. Two days later the new Hungarian government decided to leave the Warsaw Pact, which was the political and military instrument of Soviet domination in Central and Eastern Europe. In a desperate attempt to forestall a new Soviet intervention, the government proclaimed the neutrality of Hungary. It was the first grand attempt to tear Hungary away from the Soviet block of influence and her empire. ¹

The Soviet Government decided not to allow this break from the Warsaw Pact, and the Red Army attacked Hungary on November 4, 1956. They quickly crushed the legitimate government and ended the democratic experiment. After these events and during more than the following thirty years, Hungary was under the power of the communist party, and the government continued to build socialism in the framework of Soviet empire. She was a determinative member of the Warsaw Pact as a result of her important geographical location in south central Europe.

In the summer of 1989 the Communist government of Hungary surrendered their legitimacy as the only spokesman for the Hungarian people and agreed to start round-table discussions with opposition parties. The agreement for a peaceful transformation of the system was signed at the end of September. On October 23, 1989, a democratic republic was proclaimed from the same balcony of the Parliament, where thirty-three years earlier a revolutionary crowd demanded independence and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. ²

The change of government system from communism to democracy, which took place in 1989-90, and the subsequent fundamental social, political and economic transformations put an end to the artificial and forced separation which for four and half decades had been keeping Hungary out of the mainstream of European development. The obstacle in the way of Hungary taking its place among the democratic states of Europe and the world had been dramatically removed. At the of 1991, we saw the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union itself be dissolved and all nations of Soviet Empire had become essentially free of Soviet domination.

The Hungarian government - led by Prime Minister József Antall - which took office after the first free elections held in 1990 set as its priority a goal of Hungarian foreign policy accession to the European and Euro-Atlantic institutions. This endeavor was reinforced by the program and practice of the government formed under the leadership of Prime Minister Gyula Horn, who led in 1994, and Prime Minister Viktor Orban, who was elected in 1998.

From the beginning Hungarian foreign policy considered the European and euro-atlantic organizations, - OSCE, the European Union, NATO, the Western European Union, the Council of Europe and OECD - as parts of one and the same united system. This foreign policy has viewed Hungary as mutually complementing and reinforcing components of that structure, and has therefore set the goal of fulfilling the criteria demanded of those institutions and thus achieving full membership in all these institutions.³

HUNGARY IN THE WARSAW PACT.

1. Security And Defense Policy in 1955.

The security policy of Hungary in 1955 was defined by the following four categories:

- general policy, based on her communist political commitment
- economy condition
- relationship with other countries, first of all with neighbors
- geographic circumstances ⁴

From these four categories, the main role was her political commitment that she has a socialist form of state using the framework of the Soviet Union. Her focus was to promote Marxism and Leninism ideals that were realized by communist party. It was the only party allowed in Hungary. This focus and the subsequent strong leadership of the communist party determined not only the security and defense policy, but also all related internal and external actions within Hungary.

Furthermore, the security and defense policy of Hungary was further defined with her geographical location in the Central Europe. She occupies the low-lying areas of the Carpathian

basin as two-thirds of her territory consisted of plains below 200 meters. It had a very good transportation infrastructure, with the military controlling the geographical territory and infrastructure. Therefore during their history, Hungary was always a theater of war for others.

As illustrated in **Figure 1**, we can see that Hungary was located among four socialist countries: Soviet Union, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. Three of these (Yugoslavia was neutral point of view military), belonged to the Warsaw Pact. In addition, she had one neutral neighbor country of Austria.

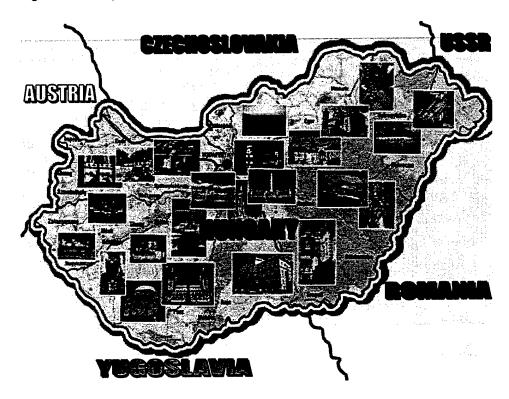


Figure 1. Neighbor Countries of Hungary ⁵

This geographical environment gave Hungary a peaceful guarantee to build the socialism government in the 1950s. After the "Yugoslav problem" between 1950-53, Hungary had an adequate relationship with her neighbors, but the internal discriminatory Hungarian national politicks of neighbors, to include Romania and Czechoslovakia, caused political disagreements and disputes. These disagreements were based on the right of Hungarians, who lived in these two countries, and not a geographic boarder issue with Hungary. But I have to mention, that a lot of Hungarians disagreed with the decision of Trianon's Peace Treaty, that reduced the border of Hungary as a result of the World War I, because it was aching point for them. In spite of this, Hungary took notice it and didn't pry into the boarders.

During this period the Hungarian security policy generally was:

- to live in peaceful cooperation with other countries,
- to build a socialists system among the people in framework of Marxism and Leninism principles. ⁶

2. Founding Member Of The Warsaw Treaty Organization (Warsaw Pact).

After the World War II, there was a growth of socialism around the world and thus begun a new kind of competition between capitalism and socialism that later turned into the one serious strife of the Cold War. According to teaching of Marxism and Leninism, the goal of the imperialisms states was to prevent the development and extension of socialism in the world. Therefore, the imperialistic states started an expansion of military capability that would eventually be used to destroy socialism. ⁷

On the other hand, the leaders of the socialist countries knew that to build socialism and communism really demanded peace in the world. Therefore the main task of the military was to strengthen world peace by having their own capability to be able to fight. That capability would in turn prevent a World War III – a form of deterrence.

At the same time, the arms race of imperialist countries and the activity of the United States of America, which deployed more and more combat units into European countries, proved that the intentions of the imperialism countries were turning into reality. In addition, they created a great military organization in April 4, 1949 – North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) - to deter the socialist system and adversely impact world peace.

Germany indicated her intention to join this alliance and was admitted in 1954. This was done even though the Soviet Union made a suggestion to establish a European Collective Safety Organization. With Germany joining NATO, a dangerous situation in Europe was created, because she got permission to develop her armed forces. This country was always a military aggressor during history, and just fifteen years early had created a World War that destroyed more then 50 million people. ⁸ Consequently the leaders of the socialist countries said:

If we want to preserve own home and the peaceful socialist system, we have to develop our military organizations. With big steps because, we need to reach and improve on imperialism organizations in order to, deter of enemy and if it necessary during the war, to annihilate of aggressors absolutely. 9

From this purpose they - Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, German Democratic Republic, Romania and the Soviet Union - established the Warsaw Pact in May 14, 1955. It was created with a defense purpose, but it's capability and number of soldiers was too large for this purpose. While its goal and doctrine was to defend their own countries and socialism, its capability and actions were to annihilate any enemies of socialism in their country.

Hungary and other socialist countries from the 1950s until 1989s made a large military contribution called the Mass Army. Because Hungary was located on the main operational territory, but not in the main direction of a perceived attack, her mission was focused on defense. The mission was defined as follows: defend territory of Hungary, and to stop the enemy attack to ensure the enemy could not enter the territory of Soviet Union. If this was not possible, the mission was to slow down an attack, to give more time and opportunity for Soviet troops to prepare for defensive operations to preclude entry into Russia. For this mission Hungary's enemies were first the Italian and German troops.¹⁰

If an imperialist country made an attack on a socialist country, the troops of the Warsaw Pact were ready to go from defense into offensive operations. In this case Hungary needed to drive the enemy from the country it attacked and then destroy the enemy in its own country. It was the main focus of Warsaw Pact troops to turn an attack on a Warsaw Pack country into an offensive operation on the attacking country's soil. In this situation, the mission of Hungary was to ensure the sudden advance and deployment of coalition troops would be able to use the territory and transportation in Hungary for the offensive. In this case, Hungary's enemies were the Italian and Austrian troops.

The actual contribution of the Hungarian Armed Forces -- its name was "Hungarian People's Army" (HPA) -- depended on the political situation, the requirements of the Soviet Union, and the economy capability of Hungary. In September 1955 Hungary offered 4 "A" categories of infantry and 2 motorized infantry divisions, and 2 "B" categories of infantry division, fighter-aircraft divisions to the Combined Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact.

The number of military personal in peacetime varied between 105 and 150 thousand. In the 1960s when the Warsaw Pact was at its greatest capability and its greatest modernization, the Hungarian People's Army had more then 150 thousand military, which consisted of one Army, one Army Corps, one Air Force Corps, and some independent combat units. These independent units included: an artillery brigade, a surface-to-surface missile brigade, an anti-aircraft artillery, and anti-tank brigades, support and combat support regiments, and in the 1980s one airborne battalion. The regular HPA was composed of roughly 80 percent army, 18 percent air force and 2 percent other.¹¹

These units, during the last 25 years, generally belonged into the similar main command and control organization, as you can see in the **Figure 2**.

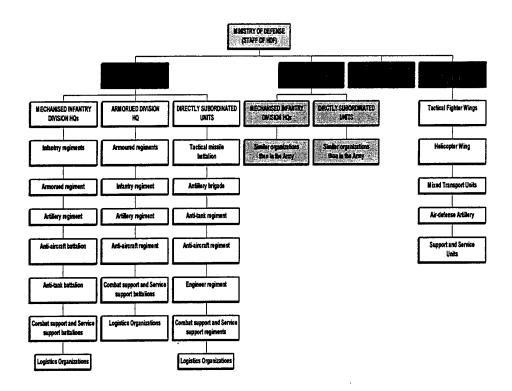


Figure 2. Hungarian People's Army (Hungarian Defense Forces) in 1970s

In addition, Hungary also had a Border Guard and a Worker's Guard organizations of about 20 thousand people. These units belonged to the Ministry of Interior and not to the Ministry of Defense, for they were focused on internal missions. ¹²

Finally, Hungary also had an ability to mobilize additional people under a two-tier system based on the initial call-up of 150 thousand active reservists, and around 700-750 thousand inactive (men between 35 and 55 years) reservists. From these reservists, Hungary could mobilize about 470 thousand persons in the first period of mobilization and send these troops to the Combined Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact. ¹³

3. Command And Control System In Socialism:

Under the one party system in Hungary every apparatus and organizations operated under the management and control of the communist party. The Hungarian People's Army was not an exception. The civilian control of the Armed Forces was realized by the following:

- the Hungarian Parliament,
- the Cabinet, and
- the National Defense Committee of Cabinet. (NDCoC)

These organizations would also include a National Defense Council (NDC) during a crisis situation or wartime if necessary. The above organizations ensured State Control over the armed forces. Besides State Control, there was also a People's Control Committee (PsCC), with the purposes, among other things, to control the military budget. This organization belonged to the Cabinet. ¹⁴

The main commander of the Hungarian Armed Forces was the Chairman of the Presidential Council. On top of the Hungarian People's Army stood the Minister of the Ministry of Defense, who was also the most important general of the Hungarian Armed Forces. In practical, the Ministry of Defense was one joint staff of the Hungarian People's Army.

From the above discussion it should be clear, that the Hungarian People's Army had not only military but civilian controls too. Every commander and the resultant control system worked within the same framework of communist party that is described in **Figure 3.**¹⁵

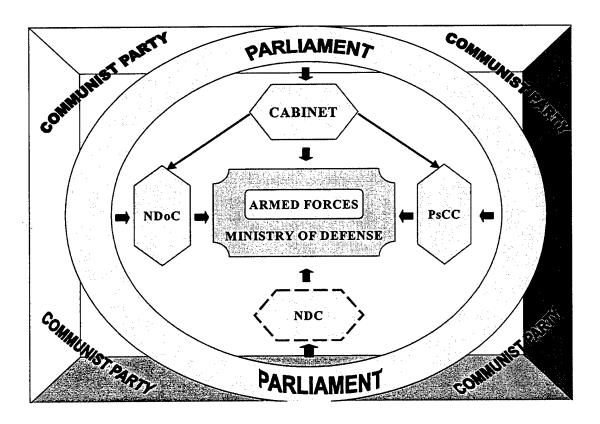


Figure 3. Control System in the Socialist Armed Forces

HUNGARY AND THE NATO.

1. At The Crossroads:

From the end of the 1980s to early 1991, strategic changes took place in the international environment as multi-ethnic states disintegrated and collapsed in Central and Eastern Europe. Not only did the political and economic systems disintegrate, but the military system also collapsed. This meant that security policy and strategy as well as military policy changed too. After the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact, the socialist countries that had belonged to this alliance lost the advantage of collective defense. They (Hungary included) wanted to build a democracy within their country, but to do this required a peaceful and secure environment. Hungary knew that she could not guarantee by herself the security of own country, so the Hungarian government and the Hungarian people wanted to join a defense alliance, which could help quarantee their security. This alliance was clearly NATO. But, before joining Hungary had to demonstrate its ability to cooperate and contribute to NATO. Because NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) program and the peacekeeping operations were important elements of cooperation among NATO members, the Hungarian Parliament voted and made the following decision: "We have to participate with other countries in the PfP program. In addition, if necessary, and if we get asked by the UN, Hungary will participate in peacekeeping operations too."16

2. Aspirations For Joining NATO:

a. NATO's 'Partnership for Peace' Program and the Hungarian Defense Forces:

Participation in NATO's 'Partnership for Peace' program was the first step towards establishing the interoperability of the Hungarian Defense Forces. Hungary joined NATO's Partnership for Peace' program in 1994 and as a result undertook the following goals:

- to render its defense budget transparent;
- to increase the democratic character of the leadership of the armed forces;
- to participate in joint military exercises related to peacekeeping operations;
- to render its armed forces capable of taking part in joint operations with NATO forces in the fields of peacekeeping, search and rescue, and humanitarian activities.

In response to a NATO survey of the interoperability of the PfP countries, the Hungarian Defense Forces pledged to achieve interoperability objectives by 1995–97. These objectives were focused on the following missions: search and rescue operations, compatibility of air traffic control equipment, standardization of air traffic procedures, compatibility of communications equipment, the language requirements of staff officers, and installation of a NATO-compatible 'friend or foe' system for the Air Force.

The Hungarian Defense Forces felt a special responsibility for the security of the region. For that reason – and in accordance with the spirit of PfP – they consistently strove to promote and expand relations and cooperation with the defense forces of neighboring countries that we can see in the **Figure 4.**¹⁸

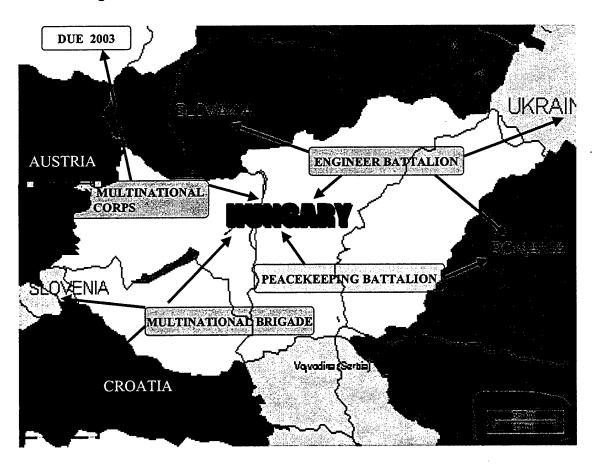


Figure 4. Cooperation with the Neighbors

The establishment of a joint Hungarian–Romanian peacekeeping battalion is under way. It is a noteworthy achievement that the staff of the joint battalion has already been created and in 1998 took part in the 'Co-operative Determination' exercise in Bulgaria. The establishment of a joint Hungarian–Slovenian–Italian peacekeeping brigade is also under way, that will be used

not only in peacekeeping missions, but also in different support, humanitarian, search and rescue operations. This was an important development from the point of view of regional security. ¹⁹

Hungary continues to prepare for the future. Therefore she has offered one battalion for European Multinational Military Corps, which will be established in 2003. In addition, Hungary carries on negotiations with Ukraine, Romania and Slovakia to establish a multinational engineer battalion. The goal of that unit is to restore damage due to a natural disaster with a focus on floods, because these countries have collective rivers.

The Partnership for Peace program made it possible for Hungary to take part in NATO's political and security system and in NATO's Planning and Review Process. Consequently, the Hungarian Defense Forces have designated units to participate in the Partnership for Peace program. They are ground units from Tata, Hódmezôvásárhely, and Szolnok, as well as the Hungarian Engineer Contingent, a helicopter squadron, a transportation helicopter squadron, and two search and rescue helicopters. These units also form the core of the national forces assigned to NATO activities. ²⁰

Under the auspices of the Individual Partnership Program, numerous joint exercises, courses, conferences, and NATO orientation courses have taken place. Hungary was the scene of the following exercises: 1995 – Co-operative Light and Combat Rescue; 1996 – Co-operative Chance. In addition, the staff exercise Trimigrant; 1997 – a Hungarian unit of 46 persons traveled to the United States to take part in the Co-operative Nugget '97 military exercise. In this exercise 18 PfP countries and 5 NATO countries participated. In 1998 Hungary was the scene of the Co-operative Lantern staff exercise under the aegis of PfP.

b. Peacekeeping tasks:

Hungary considers it her political and moral obligation to participate in peacekeeping missions under the auspices of the UN, the OSCE, NATO and other international organizations. The Hungarian Constitution (along with other high level legislation) states that it is the task of Hungarian Defense Forces to participate in fulfilling obligations arising from international treaties. The law also makes it mandatory for the Hungarian Defense Forces to establish forces that are capable of carrying out peacekeeping tasks. Hungarian strategic policy states: "Our active participation in peacekeeping is a national task and interest, significantly contributing to the achievement of our strategic objective, of becoming a full member of Euro-Atlantic integration." ²¹

According to these statements, the Republic of Hungary has been taking an active part in the multinational peacekeeping operations. Since August 1988 nearly 500 Hungarian officers, non-commissioned officers, and enlisted soldiers have undertaken observation service in 16 UN, OSCE, and other multinational peacekeeping missions and observation peacekeeping operations in crisis zones around the world to include: Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Cyprus, Rwanda, Mozambique, Tajikistan, Angola, Georgia, Bosnia, Nagorno Karabakh, Liberia, and Egypt. In 1997, 24 Hungarian army officers acted as observers in six missions, winning the appreciation of both the UN and the OSCE Secretariat. In August 1995 a Hungarian peacekeeping contingent of 41 persons began operations in the Sinai Peninsula in Egypt. Currently there is a 107-man Hungarian peacekeeping unit in Cyprus, where originally there was only a 39-man rifle platoon.

c. Participation in SFOR-IFOR and KFOR Operations:

Since 1996 the Hungarian Defense Forces have been taking part in NATO-led multinational peace support operations within the framework of IFOR, then of SFOR. In accordance with the relevant resolution of the Hungarian Parliament, multilateral co-operation covers three main areas:

- the Republic of Hungary shall ensure transit across its territory and air space for nations taking part in operations of this kind;
- it shall provide host-nation support for troops of the contingent stationed in Hungary (US troops are stationed at Taszár, and soldiers from five northern European countries belonging to the Nordic Support Brigade are stationed at Pécs and Kaposvar);
- it shall contribute an engineering contingent to help the operations of the implementation forces.²²

The Hungarian Parliament approved the dispatch of 500 personnel for the IFOR mission. The Hungarian engineering contingent has been stationed near Okucani in Croatia. As for the SFOR mission, the number of Hungarian soldiers serving in the southern Slav region is now at 280. During the IFOR–SFOR operation, the Hungarian engineering contingent has accomplished nearly 200 tasks of various types and magnitudes. In addition to these operations, based on the Hungarian Parliaments decision and the Hungarian peacekeeping policy, Hungary sent a 350-man armed unit into KFOR operations to Kosovo in 1999. The task of this unit was to provide security for a NATO command post and a radio transmitter. ²³ Lastly in 2000, the UN asked the Hungarian government to enlarge the Hungarian contingent in

Kosovo, with a medical unit having a sanitary laboratory. Examples of Hungarian participation in peacekeeping operations are listed in **Table 1**.

| Mission | Total number | Serving today |
|------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| UN military observer missions: | / person / | |
| UNIKOM | | |
| Iraq-Kuwait /observer mission/ | 39 | 5 |
| MONUA | | |
| UNAVEM Angola /observer mission/ | 58 | 2 |
| UNOMIG | | |
| Georgia /observer mission/ | 22 | 5 |
| OSCE observer missions: | | |
| OSCE MTG: Georgia mission | 6 | 1 |
| OSCE MTB: Bosnia mission | 9 | 4 |
| OSCE MNK: Nagorno-Karabah mission | 4 | 1 |
| Armed Peacekeeping Operations: | | |
| MFO | | |
| Multinational Forces and Observers | 82 | 41 |
| UNFICYP | | |
| Peacekeeping force in Cyprus | 162 | 108 |
| IFOR/SFOR | 1054 | 329 |
| KFOR | 350 | 350 |
| Other finished operations | 116 | |
| Sum total: | 1795 | 953 |

Table 1. Hungarian Participation in Peacekeeping Operations.

3. Organizational Transformations:

The Hungarian Defense Forces entered a period of radical transformation after the world left behind the era of bipolar opposition, and Hungary went through a change of political system. The inevitable reform of the armed forces was motivated by two factors:

• first, the general need for democratic development and modernization

• second, the commencement of preparations in Hungary for NATO membership.

Before 1990 the Hungarian Armed Forces were oversized and unduly concerned with ideological considerations. As discussed it had a defensive doctrine about future war, but from its organization, structure and capabilities, we could realize its offensive orientation. Once the Government of the Republic of Hungary regained the power of self-determination, it worked to create a national armed force of a more modest size, and one that was more effective and modern than its predecessor. Most importantly — it was of a defensive character.

The political and legislative decisions needed to realize these aims were published in the period between 1990 and 1994, and they were: the Basic Principles of Security Policy, the Basic Principles of National Defense, and the National Defense Act. These documents created the following major changes:

- the length of compulsory military service was reduced to twelve months;
- unarmed military service and civil service were introduced;
- field chaplains have commenced pastoral work;
- the Hungarian Defense Forces have expanded their network of international relations;
- the training of Hungarian career soldiers has started in Western military colleges.²⁴ The last change has contributed significantly to transforming attitudes and ways of thinking within the armed forces.

The Government program of June 1994 accelerated the transformation of the Hungarian Defense Forces. In the summer 1995, the Hungarian Parliament adopted Resolution 88/1995 (6 July), which made the reform of the armed forces more concrete. The Resolution defined tasks in general terms for the period until 2005 and in concrete terms until 1998, with special emphasis on tasks related to NATO accession. By late 1997 the first stage of the reform of the Hungarian Defense Forces – mostly quantitative, macro-level changes – had been completed and tangible results had been achieved. ²⁵

In 1989 the peacetime strength of the Hungarian Defense Forces was 155,000. Today it is 53,150, in accordance with the relevant resolution of the Hungarian Parliament.

Consequently, nearly half of the former military organizations and over 100 military facilities have ceased operation.

As part of the reform, structural and organizational changes have been made in order to enhance the multifaceted interoperability of the Hungarian Defense Forces in accordance with NATO requirements. First, the command and control system had to be transformed. On 1 September 1997 a combined Defense Staff was set up, as well as General Staffs for the

different branches of the armed forces. They fulfil the traditional functions of General Staffs in accordance with the practice of NATO countries. The structure of the Hungarian Defense Forces has been transformed: the Army, the Air Force, and the General Directorate for Logistics are now the main organizational components. These elements there are illustrated by Figure 5. ²⁶

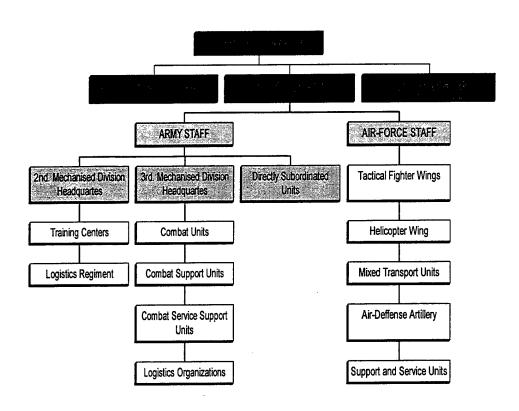


Figure 5. Organization of the HDF after 1997

The internal reorganization of the armed forces has begun that changed regular and skeleton units into mixed forces consisting of enlisted soldiers and conscripts. In November 1997, a new system of conscript training was introduced where conscripts spend the first three months of their military service in two national training centers where they receive basic training and individual training. Then they are given platoon, company, and battalion-level unit training. The professional character of the armed forces has been strengthened and the proportion of enlisted soldiers has been increased. Efforts have been made to evolve a new promotion system for officers and to create a new type of non-commissioned officer corps.

The Hungarian Defense Forces have joined NATO's integrated air defense system. Designated units have been prepared to provide early warning system. In addition a mobilization system has been introduced in harmony with NATO norms, and the availability of standby units has been improved in accordance with requirements. The principles of collective defense are fully taken into consideration when decisions are made concerning technical modernization.

The keyword in the preparation of the Hungarian Defense Forces for accession into NATO was the achievement of interoperability. However, the replacement and further development of military equipment, weapons systems, and installations according to NATO standards was not the only, and at present not the primary dimension of that preparation. The most urgent task was and still is the development of what is called the "interoperability of minds" which included the transformation of the structures, procedures, and training systems of the Hungarian Defense Forces. One particularly important element of the latter is the development of Hungarian officers' ability to communicate. That is, to provide them with an appropriate command of NATO's key languages — English in particular. The institutional frameworks for training have already been established. Results achieved so far have been encouraging, but there is a need for continued efforts. According to plans, the fundamental interoperability objectives were successfully completed by the end of 1997. ²⁷

The time of transformation Hungarian Defense Forces was characterized by several events in the relationship between Hungary and NATO. These are illustrated in **Appendix**.

Joining NATO did not end the organizational transformation in the Hungarian Defense Forces. It has a perspective plan to 2013 that says: "In the run up to 2013 the most important aspects in the transformation of the armed forces will concern changes in doctrine and technology. As well as replacing the present mixed professional and conscript based force with an all volunteer forces." ²⁸ Figure 6. illustrates these process and elements.

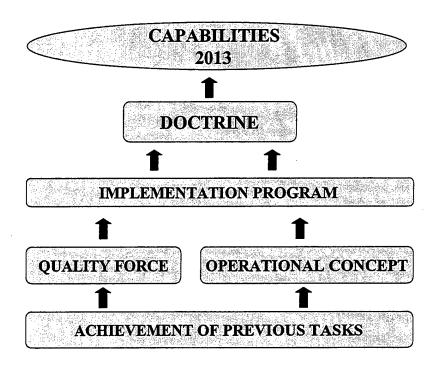


Figure 6. From Concepts to Capabilities 29

4. Command And Control Of The Present Armed Forces:

In the new military system one of the important tasks was to implement a new command and control system that established and implemented democratic civilian control over the armed forces. This included parliamentary supervision of the armed forces and the defense budget. It was a new element, because there was a different control system in the socialism armed forces. The structural, institutional, and legal conditions of a democratic control mechanism have already been established and consolidated in Hungary. Its main principles are illustrated in **Figure 7.**

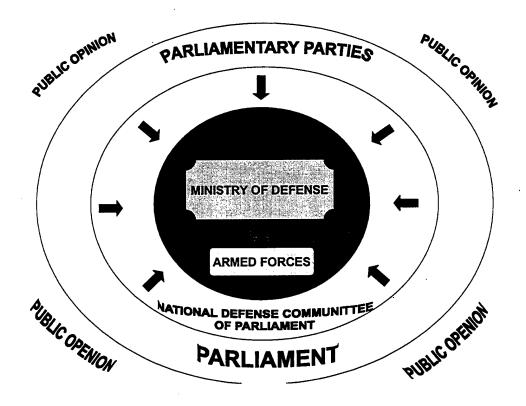


Figure 7. Civil Control in the Hungarian Defense Forces (2000.)

However, further efforts have to be made to bring about the subjective element required for efficient control, which involves the creation of a sufficient number of appropriately trained experts. Furthermore, safeguarding the necessary transparency of the defense budget requires additional efforts as well. To that end, the Hungarian military intend to make even greater use of assistance and exchanges of experience offered by NATO and its member states.

At the same time with the establishment of civil control, it was important to give more information about the Hungarian Armed Forces to the public. Therefore the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff consider it a priority to maintain – both consciously and continuously – public confidence and a favorable attitude towards the Hungarian Defense Forces. Open days, air shows, and other occasions enable the public to become familiar with life in the barracks, soldiers' everyday activities, and military equipment. Hungarians also appreciate the fact that they can count on the assistance of the Hungarian Defense Forces in dealing with the problems caused by natural disasters or adverse weather conditions.

5. Security And Defense Policies Today:

On December 28, 1998, the National Assembly accepted the security and defense principles of the Republic of Hungary. Acceptance of this resolution creates the basis for security as a foundation for national defense doctrine together with separate employment doctrines of different arms. ³⁰

One of the fundamental differences between the past and present is the fact that current problems of security in Europe cannot be described any more as a relationship between two superpowers opposed to each other and smaller countries rallying around or threatened by them. At the same time, a great number of smaller conflicts on our continent have remained unsolved. Deficiencies persisting in the cooperation among the various organizations and diverging views on how to solve problems continue to make effective crisis management difficult. However, history has proved several times already that only an approach focused on cooperation may lead to results in coping with the challenges to security.

Keeping the goal of enhancing regional stability in sight, Hungary is interested in the maintenance and further strengthening of the Euro-Atlantic commitment of its neighbors. Accordingly, it attaches great importance to the preservation of the credibility of the process of NATO-enlargement and wishes to provide active assistance to the preparation of its neighbors for membership. In our view, a European system capable of coping with present and future challenges is based on the following pillars:

- NATO, EU (and WEU), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and last but not least.
- the Council of Europe, which represents the generally accepted values of our civilization, with special respect to the protection of human and minority rights.

National defense is a matter of the highest public interest in Hungary. The Republic of Hungary requires, as a tool of its security policy, armed forces able to ensure reliable defense that contribute to the common security of NATO. Our defense policy is based on the interdependence of the alliance, co-operation, deterrence, and defense. Hungary fully identifies itself with NATO's principles concerning collective security and defense – it shall maintain and develop its capability to repel an armed attack in accordance with the basic principles enshrined in the North Atlantic Treaty.

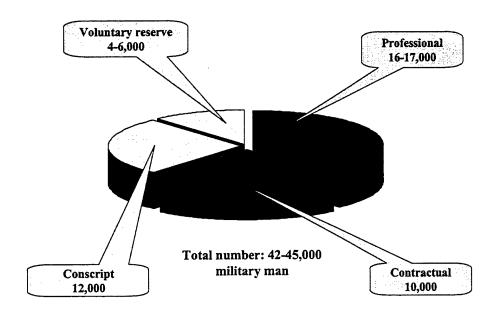
The paramount mission of the Hungarian Defense Forces is to protect Hungary's sovereignty and territorial integrity and, acting on the basis of the North Atlantic Treaty, to contribute to NATO's collective defense. Their additional tasks include participation in other joint

allied missions, peacekeeping and humanitarian missions under the auspices of international organizations, and efforts to reduce the harmful effects of major industrial and natural disasters.

In keeping with its commitments and for the benefit of common defense, Hungary is ready to make available an appropriate military force, and commensurate with its capabilities, to contribute to other NATO missions. In accordance with the basic principles of defense policy, the Hungarian Defense Forces shall do everything possible to promote regional security and stability by actively participating in bilateral and multilateral military co-operation.

THE HUNGARIAN DEFENSE FORCES IN NATO.

Military service is compulsory for men from the time they will be eighteen in Hungary. Between 6,000 and 7,000 young men are enrolled as conscripts soldiers four times a year for a period of nine months. In addition, the number of enlisted and career soldiers is growing. In 1994 the proportion of conscripts in the Hungarian Defense Forces was 52.8 percent and by 2000 this number had been reduced to 31.3 percent. In the same period the proportion of career and enlisted soldiers increased from 22.6 per cent to 47.3 per cent. In line with these trends we want to have by 2003 more than 2/3 of the Hungarian Defense Forces professional and voluntary in nature. Its composition is illustrated by Figure 8 titled "Future Composition of the HDF". ³²



At the same time we will have a new military organization. That organization is under way now with fewer and smaller leader elements and fewer, but more effective fighting units. The Hungarian Defense Forces consist of two main components: Ground Forces and the Air Force. The armed forces have three principal categories: reaction forces, main defense forces, and national support forces. The reaction forces include immediate reaction units and rapid reaction units. These are combat-ready in peacetime. The reaction forces have the following functions: alert duty, participation in crisis management, the fulfillment of Hungary's international commitments, and participation in rescue operations in the case of natural disasters.

In both the ground forces and the Air Force, the reaction forces consist of units of highly trained personnel capable of immediate or rapid reaction and of participation in military operations independently at home and in co-operation with the troops of other nations abroad. If the reaction forces are not sufficient, the main defense forces have the responsibility of defending the country.

The main defense forces consist of fighting forces; combat support forces, territorial defense forces, and reserve forces. These may take part in military operations independently – chiefly within Hungary – or as a part of the Allied Forces. One of their functions is to ensure the needed conditions for the reception and support of NATO forces on Hungarian soil. The forces designated for this latter function are called host-nation forces. Although the reaction forces are made up mostly of career and enlisted soldiers, for the foreseeable future compulsory military service will be necessary for the fulfillment of basic and national support tasks. ³³

Hungary is represented by its NATO Mission in Brussels. Hungarian officers also serve in the Partnership for Peace Co-ordination Cell at the Supreme Headquarters of Allied Powers Europe. Hungary comes under the leadership of Allied Forces Southern Europe (AFSOUTH), which is located in Naples. Work has begun to integrate Hungary into NATO's command structure. As such Hungarian Defense Forces send 73 officers of varying ranks to various NATO command organizations, located in Brussels, Mons, Naples, and other locations.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE WARSAW PACT AND NATO:

The most important different between NATO and The Warsaw Pact is the ending of the ideological and political commitment of the military officers, and the Armed Forces became independent from these elements. Unfortunately in the selection of military leaders often his political and ideological commitment was sometimes more important than his professional knowledge. This is now changing. The other fundamental difference is the command and

control system. In line with this is the military and civilian relationship that demands a new way of thinking of all people, and not only the military.

In addition, there are some differences in its character, role and organization. For example: there was a reduction in the number of her Armed Forces, because NATO relies more the principle of collective defense. There were new elements in the military planing and exercises for peacekeeping and peacemaking and real participate in these operations increased. Even though Hungary generally had higher percent of professional soldiers in her Armed Forces as compared with the other socialist countries, it still needed to intensify its professional nature. In addition, the role of the NCO has evolved as they gain more responsibility.

CONCLUSION.

Hungary with joining NATO performed an important step on the road of democracy that created a more effective and modern Professional Armed Forces. This is a first step from a military point of view, and we have to continue this process with the purpose to integrate and achieve full compatibility and interoperability with other countries.

This goal is not only the military's, but the government too. Its program clearly says: Hungary will have to continue the modernization of the armed forces and have to undertake particularly big efforts in some areas of crucial importance in order to achieve an appropriate level of interoperability. At the same time, the Hungarian government has unambiguously committed itself to being able to carry out the everyday tasks of cooperation as needed. This will of course also require us to keep defense-related expenditures at the necessary level. Economic prerequisites to that end do exist as the country is proceeding on the path of durable economic growth, which enables us to continuously increase the share of defense expenditure to achieve a level of 1.81 % of GDP by 2001. In real terms, this will constitute an annual increase of 8-10 % in our defense expenses. ³⁴

Last year, the UN and NATO's members have testified that Hungary and her armed forces are well on the road of building a democracy and have been valuable in joint cooperation efforts. The words of the Prime Minister of Hungary to NATO's delegates, who participated with the Hungarian parliament during an evaluation of Hungary's first year of NATO membership, gave encouraging forecasts for the future Hungarian Defense Forces:

"There is an old proverb which says that there are three kinds of people: those who are immovable, those who are movable, and those who move. Hungarians

take pride in having always been among those who make things move, and I believe it's a tradition we definitely intend to keep up. We are happy to be partners with you in making things move that may be important for the future of our country, our region, and the Euro-Atlantic region." ³⁵

WORD COUNT = 6395

ENDNOTES

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 - ² ibid.
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 - ⁸ ibid. Pp.219.
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 - ¹⁵ ibid.

¹⁶ National Defense "99" Towards Peace in Bosnia. Ministry of Defense Republic of Hungary. Published by the "Zrinyi Publishing House Eds. "Magyar Honved" for Ministry of Defense 1999.pp 39.

¹⁷ NATO's Partnership for Peace' Program and the Hungarian Defense Forces; available from http://www."http://www."The Hungarian Defense Forces" html>; Internet; accessed 10 January 2001.

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²⁵ ibid.

²⁶ National Defense "99" Ministry of Defense Republic of Hungary. Published by the "Zrinyi Publishing House Eds. "Magyar Honved" for Ministry of Defense 1999;

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 - ²⁹ Ibid. Pp.22
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- ³⁵ <u>Prime Minister Viktor Orban Address at NATO's Parliamentary Assembly.</u> Budapest, 30 May, 2000. htm. pp 4.

APPENDIX: MAJOR EVENTS IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HUNGARY AND NATO (1990-1999)

- 1990 July 18 Prime Minister József Antall visits NATO Headquarters in Brussels. He announces to Secretary General Manfred Wörner: the Hungarian Ambassador accredited to Brussels is assigned to maintain permanent contact with NATO's relevant Authorities.
- 1990 November 22-23 NATO Secretary General Manfred Wörner visits Hungary for the first time in the history of the Alliance. President Árpád Göncz and Prime Minister József Antall receive him.
- 1990 November 28-29 The North Atlantic Assembly (NAA), NATO's parliament accords the status of "associate delegation" status to Hungary and other Central Eastern European countries at its plenary meeting in London.
- 1991 December 20 Inaugural meeting of the North Atlantic Co-operation Council attended by Representatives of 16 NATO- countries and 9 former Warsaw Pact countries. It is the first consultative body since World War Two in which countries were against each other during the Cold War belongs to a common security policy framework.
- 1993 October 31 AWACS reconnaissance aircraft under NATO command patrols and monitors the no fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- 1994 January 10-11 At the Brussels Summit, NATO launches the Partnership for Peace program. It also releases a Final Declaration on the possibilities of the enlargement of the Alliance in a gradual and evolutionary manner.
- 1994 February 8 Foreign Minister Géza Jeszenszky signs the PfP Framework Document in Brussels.
- 1994 November 15 During their visit to Brussels, Hungarian Foreign Minister László Kovács and Defense Minister György Keleti finalize the bilateral co-operation work program between the Republic of Hungary and NATO.
- 1995 May 26-29 Plenary meeting of the North Atlantic Assembly in Budapest. It is the first time since the establishment of the forum 40 years before that the meeting is held in a non-NATO country.
- 1995 October 14-20 PfP-exercise "Co-operative Light '95" is held in the neighborhood of Újdörögd, in the Bakony Hills, Hungary with the participation of 19 nations.
- 1995 December 5 The Hungarian National Assembly approves for Hungary's with participation with an engineering unit in the operation of the Implementation Forces (IFOR) the aim of

- ensuring the implementation of a peaceful settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.
- 1995 December 9 The first American soldiers assigned to the Bosnian peace implementation forces of NATO (IFOR) arrive at Taszár, Somogy county.
- 1996 February 3 The Hungarian IFOR-contingent stationed at Okucani (416 persons) is transferred to NATO operational command.
- 1996 July 20-26 NATO-led multinational air exercise "Co-operative Chance '96" is held in Szolnok and Újdörög. (This is the first exercise held in a territory of a country outside NATO's area of responsibility.)
- 1996 December 17 The Hungarian National Assembly passes a resolution for the participation of a Hungarian Engineering Battalion in the newly established Stabilization Forces (SFOR) in the former Yugoslavia.
- 1997 May 30 At the Meeting of the North Atlantic Co-operation Council at Foreign Ministers level in Sintra, Portugal, the dissolution of NACC is declared and at same time the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council is established in its place.
- 1997 July 8 At the Summit Meeting of NATO in Madrid, the Alliance decides to invite the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland for accession talks.
- 1997 September 10 The first round of the Hungarian-NATO talks on accession is held in Brussels.
- 1997 November 16 National referendum is held in Hungary. 49.24 % of the 8,019,724 eligible voters took part in the referendum on Hungary's accession to NATO. 85.33 % (3,327,118 persons) of the voters voted "yes".
- 1997 December 16 The Accession Protocols of Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Poland are signed in Brussels in the presence of the Foreign Ministers of the three invited countries.
- 1998 February 3 December 1 The legislation of the 16 NATO-countries ratify the accession protocols of Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland into NATO.
- 1998 July 24 Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on his official visit to Brussels during has talks with Secretary General Javier Solana on issues related to Hungary's euro-atlantic integration.
- 1999 January 29 Foreign Minister János Martonyi receives a letter from Javier Solana in which the Secretary General invites Hungary to join NATO and requests Hungary to deposit the instruments of accession.
- 1999 February 8 Air Sovereignty Operations Center is inaugurated in Veszprém, so the conditions of linking the information system of the Hungarian Air Defense to NATO's Integrated Air Defense System are given.

- 1999 February 9 The National Assembly votes for Hungary's accession into NATO and the bill proposal on the proclamation of the North Atlantic Treaty with an overwhelming majority of votes (330 yes, 13 no and 1 abstain). The next day President Árpád Göncz singes the Instrument of Accession.
- 1999 March 12 Foreign Minister János Martonyi together with his Czech and Polish colleagues deposits the instruments of accession at the Government of the United States of America in ceremonial circumstances in Independence, Missouri. By this action Hungary officially becomes a member of NATO.

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